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QUOTE S E C R E T PARIS 17965

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SUBJ: JUNE 5 PARIS MEETING ON ZAIRE

BEGIN SUMMARY: PARIS MEETING ON ZAIRE BEGAN ON SCHEDULE LATE MORNING JUNE 5 AND CARRIED ON TO EARLY MORNING HOURS JUNE 6. CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS WERE LENGTHIER THAN EXPECTED BECAUSE OF (A) DECISION TO HAVE AN ECONOMIC WORKING GROUP PREPARE SPECIFIC PROPOSALS FOR CONSIDERATION BY GOVERNMENTS AND EMBASSIES IN KINSHASA ON ZAIRE'S EMERGENCY IMPORT REQUIREMENTS TO BE CONSIDERED AT BRUSSELS MEETING, AND A POLITICAL WORKING GROUP PREPARE SPECIFIC REFORM PROPOSALS TO BE PRESENTED JOINTLY TO MOBUTU AFTER APPROVAL BY GOVERNMENTS, (B) FRENCH INSISTENCE ON DISCUSSING ISSUES OF BROADER AFRICAN SECURITY, QUESTION OF CONTINUING SUPPORT FOR AFRICAN FORCE IN ZAIRE, AND THE SPECIAL FUND FOR AFRICA
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(GISCARD FUND), AND (C) LENGTHY DISCUSSION OF THE TEXT OF A DECLARATION TO BE MADE TO THE PRESS. THE US, FRG, UK, AND BELGIUM ALL FAVORED LIMITING DISCUSSION TO ZAIRE WITH BELGIANS GIVING SPECIAL EMPHASIS TO ECONOMIC AND AID MATTERS PREPARATORY TO BRUSSELS MEETING. THE US, UK, AND FRG DELEGATIONS UNDERLINED NEED TO TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION IMPORTANCE OF RELATIONS WITH OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES AND NEED TO WIDEN POLITICAL SUPPORT FOR MEASURES TAKEN TO BOLSTER ZAIRE GOVERNMENT. ALL OTHER PARTICIPANTS RESISTED FRENCH PROPOSAL FOR "WORK-

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ING GROUP" TO MEET SHORTLY TO DECIDE HOW TO PROVIDE CONTINUING SUPPORT FOR AFRICAN FORCE IN ZAIRE BUT MATTER LEFT UNRESOLVED. LATE IN THE MEETING THE FRENCH SOMEWHAT INCONGRUOUSLY RAISED SPECIAL FUND FOR AFRICA PROPOSING AN "EXPERTS" MEETING IN PARIS JUNE 22-23 TO DISCUSS THE FUND IN THE CONTEXT OF A DISCREET ENTITY IN TERMS SIMILAR TO THAT ORIGINALLY PROPOSED BY PRESIDENT GISCARD (U.S. ATTENDANCE EXPECTED) INVITATIONS ARE TO BE ISSUED THROUGH FRENCH EMBASSIES IN CAPITALS. FRENCH BARGAINED HARD TO HAVE A COMMUNIQUE WHICH WENT BEYOND QUESTION OF HELP FOR ZAIRE AND FOCUSED ON BROADER AFRICAN SECURITY PROBLEMS. THIS WAS OPPOSED BY ALL OTHER DELEGATIONS AND AFTER LONG SESSION FRENCH WERE PARTIALLY SATISFIED BY GENERAL REFERENCE TO BROADER AFRICAN PROBLEMS. END SUMMARY.

1. MORNING SESSION OF CONFERENCE BEGAN WITH REMARKS BY QUAI SECGEN SOUTOU IN WHICH HE OUTLINED THE BRIEF AGENDA FOR THE MEETING: MORNING DISCUSSION OF ECONOMIC MATTERS IN PREPARATION FOR ZAIRE MEETING; AFTERNOON SESSION ON SECURITY. IN ADDTIONAL REMARKS ON HIS CONCETPT OF THE MEETING HE SAID THAT AS WELL AS ZAIRE, PARTICIPANTS SHOULD ADDRESS QUESTION OF WHAT WOULD

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HAPPEN IF A SITUATION SIMILAR TO SHABA DEVELOPS ELSEWHERE. IN SO DOING HE BEGAN A FRENCH EFFORT WHICH PERSISTED THROUGHOUT THE MEETING TO BROADEN THE DISCUSSION TO WIDER AFRICAN MATTERS.

2. THE CHIEF BELGIAN DELEGATE(CAHEN) IN HIS OPENING REMARKS EMPHASIZED THE NEED TO CONCENTRATE ON ECONOMIC MATTERS IN PREPARATION FOR THE BRUSSELS MEETING JUNE 13-14 AND THIS SUBJECT, WITH PASSING REFERENCES TO THE LINK BETWEEN SECURITY AND ECONOMIC RECOVERY, WAS A BELGIAN PREOCCUPATION THROUGHOUT. IN HIS OPENING REMARKS UNDERSECRETARY NEWSOM DREW ON PREPARED TALKING POINTS SAYING THAT ZAIRE HOLDS CRITICAL POSITION BECAUSE OF GEOGRAPHY AND RESOURCES AND THAT POLITICAL OR ECONOMIC COLLAPSE COULD LEAD TO RETURN OF THE CHAOS OF THE 60'S WITH INCALCULEBLE RESULTS. SITUATION IN ZAIRE BLEAK AND WELL-COORDINATED EFFORT ON RECOVERY LINKED TO REFORM NECESSARY. FOCUS OF MEETING, HE SAID, SHOULD BE ON PREPARATION FOR BRUSSELS MEETING. US PREPARED DISCUSS ALL ASPECTS OF RECOVERY BUT SEAKS AGREEMENT OF ALL PARTICIPANTS THAT GOZ MUST UNDERTAKE BROAD REFORMS. WE SHOULD SEEK CONSENSUS ON WHAT REFORMS NECESSARY AS CONDITION FOR FURTHER ASSISTANCE. COORDINATION AND UNITY IN APPROACH TO GOZ NECESSARY. ADDITIONALLY WE MUST DO ALL WE CAN TO SEE THAT OUR EFFORTS ON SECURITY SIDE RECEIVE MAXIMUM INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT. WE HAVE BEEN APPROACHING

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AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS NOT DIRECTLY CONCERNED TO EXPLAIN
AND EXPLORE WHAT CAN BE DONE IN THIS REGARD.

3. THE UK DELEGATE (HIBBERT) IN HIS INITIAL REMARKS
STRESSED THE NEED TO KEEP IN MIND THE EFFECT WHICH THE
MEETING ITSELF AND OUR EFFORTS TO HELP ZAIRE WILL HAVE
ON RELATIONS WITH OTHER AFRICAN STATES, AND PARTICULARLY
ON EFFORTS TO RESOLVE SOUTHERN AFRICA PROBLEMS. USE
OF TERM SUCH AS "PAN AFRICAN FORCE" ARE DANGEROUS AND
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MISLEADING, HE SAID. IT IS ALSO NOT HELPFUL TO SEE THE
PRESS DESCRIBE WESTERN EFFORTS AS DESIGNED FOR "HELP
MOBUTU" WHEN THIS IS NOT OUR INTEREST AT ALL; RATHER
IT IS IN HELPING ZAIRE. HE ALSO SAID IT NECESSARY
AVOID GIVING AND EAST/WEST CONFRONTATIONAL APPEARANCE
TO THE MEETING. UK DELEGATE EXPRESSED AN EARLY CONCERN
(SHARED BY THE OTHER VISITING DELEGATIONS) FOR WHAT WAS
TO BE SAID TO THE PRESS ABOUT THE MEETING.

4. THE HEAD FRG DELEGATE (LANDRUT) IN HIS OPENING
REMARKS EXPRESSED SOME RESERVATION ABOUT THE AGENDA
BECAUSE OF ITS REFERENCE TO JOINT ACTION AND ENDORSED
THE UK CONCERN WITH THE PUBLIC RELATIONS ASPECT OF
THE MEETING.

5. QUAI SECGEN SOUTOU IN REPLYING TO OPENING REMARKS
SAID HE AGREED IT NECESSARY KEEP IN MIND QUESTION OF
RESOLUTION OF SOUTHERN AFRICAN PROBLEMS, BUT SAID THERE
WAS ALSO A REVERSE LINKAGE: WHAT WOULD HAPPEN TO OUR
EFFORTS TO HAVE PRO-WESTERN SOLUTIONS IN RHODESIA
AND NAMIBIA IF ZAIRE WERE TO COLLAPSE AND BECOME A
CENTER FOR SUBVERSION AGAINST ITS NEIGHBORS? ON THE
QUESTION OF A COMMUNIQUE HE REPEATED THE POINT MADE TO
UNDERSECRETARY NEWSOM THE PREVIOUS DAY THAT THE MEETING
ITSELF WILL HAVE A KIND OF DETERRENT EFFECT AGAINST
AGGRESSION IN AFRICA IF THE COMMUNIQUE MAKES CLEAR
THAT THE ASSEMBLED DELEGATES WERE CONCERNED BY BROADER
AFRICAN SECURITY QUESTIONS.

6. THE REMAINDER OF THE MORNING SESSION WAS LARGELY
GIVEN OVER TO DISCUSSION OF ECONOMIC MATTERS. IN ITS
PRESENTATION THE BELGIAN DELEGATION (TO WHICH SOUTOU
LOOKED TO TAKE THE LEAD IN PROVIDING ECONOMIC ANALYSES)
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DIVIDED ZAIRE'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS INTO THE SHORT AND
THE LONGER TERM. THE ZAIRE ECONOMY WAS IN BAD SHAPE
BEFORE THE SHABA INVASION AND IS WORSE NOW. THE KEY
TO LONGER TERM RECOVERY IS GETTING THE SHABA MINES BACK

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IN OPERATION AND THIS IS LINKED TO SECURITY. SHORT TERM ECONOMIC PROBLEMS ALSO HAVE A SECURITY CONNECTION BECAUSE PRIVATION OF THE POPULATION COULD WEAKEN LOYALTY TO THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND EXACERBATE REGIONAL CLEAVAGES. IT WAS AGREED THAT LONGER TERM ECONOMIC PROBLEMS WERE BEST LEFT FOR DISCUSSION AT THE BRUSSELS MEETING AND THAT THE PARIS MEETING SHOULD CONCENTRATE ON URGENT SHORT TERM IMPORT REQUIREMENTS. USING BELGIAN FIGURES IT WAS DETERMINED THAT THE MOST URGENT AID NEEDS OVER THE NEXT THREE MONTHS WOULD BE AS FOLLOWS: FUEL - $22.5 MILLION; MEDICINES $3-4 MILLION, FOOD $30 MILLION. THIS TOTAL OF ABOUT $55 MILLION DID NOT INCLUDE URGENTLY NEEDED SPARE PARTS FOR WHICH IT IMPOSSIBLE GIVE AN IMMEDIATE TOTAL. GENERAL DISCUSSION DEVELOPED A CONSENSUS THAT ASSISTANCE IN ARRANGING FOR URGENTLY NEEDED IMPORTS SHOULD ALSO BE LINKED TO REFORMS AND THAT THESE IMPORTS MUST BE CLOSELY SUPERVISED TO SEE THAT THEY GOT TO THE INTENDED RECIPIENTS. AN ECONOMIC WORKING GROUP WAS FORMED TO CONSIDER THE QUESTION OF THIS SHORT TERM AID IN MORE DETAIL AND TO PREPARE VIEWS ON THE SUBJECT WHICH COULD BE CONSIDERED BY PARTICIPATING GOVERNMENTS AND THEIR EMBASSIES IN ZAIRE IN PREPARATION FOR THE BRUSSELS MEETING. (ECONOMIC SUBJECTS IN MORE DETAIL BY SEPTEL).

7. THE AFTERNOON SESSION ON SECURITY BEGAN WITH AN ESSENTIALLY HISTORICAL REVIEW BY FRENCH ARMY GENERALS OF THE KATANGESE INTERVENTION IN SHABA AND THE BELGIAN AND FRENCH REACTION TO IT. THIS WAS FOLLOWED BY A REVIEW OF THE PRESENT SECURITY SITUATION. THE THREAT TO THE GOZ WAS DESCRIBED AS BOTH INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL. EXTERNALLY THE THREAT COMES FROM ANGOLA--NOT DIRECTLY

AS ITS ARMED FORCES TIED UP WITH UNITA AND SOUTH AFRICA--BUT THROUGH THE CUBAN TRAINED AND SOVIET EQUIPPED KATANGESE. KATANGESE HAVE ABOUT 6,000 MEN; THE SAME NUMBER THE GOZ CAN PUT IN SHABA. THE KATANGESE'S GOAL COULD BE EITHER AN INDEPENDENT KATANGA OR PARTICIPATION IN THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT; THE LATTER NOW SEEMS THE MORE LIKELY. THE INTERNAL THREAT COMES FROM THE WEAKNESS OF THE MOBUTU REGIME AND STRONG REGIONAL AND TRIBAL FEELINGS AND DISAFFECTION CAUSED BY PRIVATION. THE THREAT POSED BY THE KATANGESE SHOULD NOT BE OVER EMPHASIZED. A WELL DISCIPLINED FORCE SUCH AS THAT TO BE PROVIDED BY MOROCCO AND OTHER AFRICAN STATES WILL BE ABLE TO PROVIDE ADEQUATE SECURITY.

8. THE FRENCH THEN TURNED TO QUESTION OF CONTINUED SUPPORT FOR THE AFRICAN FORCE. IT WILL HAVE ENOUGH EQUIPMENT PROVIDED BY FRANCE TO DO THE JOB WHEN IT ARRIVES AND FOR SOME TIME THEREAFTER, BUT IT WILL HAVE

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TO BE PAID AND REPROVISIONED OVER THE LONGER TERM. IF THERE IS NOT ADEQUATE PROVISIONS FOR THIS, THERE COULD DEVELOP DISCONTENT AMONG THE PARTICIPATING FORCES. SOUTOU PROPOSED THAT THE FIVE COUNTRIES REPRESENTED ESTABLISH A WORKING GROUP TO MEET VERY SHORTLY AT A PLACE TO BE CHOSEN TO DEAL WITH THE PROBLEM OF CONTINUING SUPPORT ON A MORE OR LESS LONGTERM BASIS. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE FIVE COUNTRIES MIGHT DIVIDE UP THE SUPPORT BURDEN BY FUNCTION, ONE COUNTRY UNDERTAKING TO SUPPLY FUEL, ANOTHER PAY, ANOTHER CONSUMABLES, ETC.

9. UNDERSECRETARY NEWSOM SAID THAT HE APPRECIATED THE DETAILED REPORT ON THE AFRICAN FORCE BUT THAT MORE INFORMATION WAS NEEDED. WHAT AGREEMENTS HAVE BEEN

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REACHED WITH THE SUPPLYING COUNTRIES? WHAT AGREEMENT WITH THE GOZ? WHAT ARE THE ACTUAL REQUIREMENTS? NEWSOM ACKNOWLEDGED THAT IN PUTTING THE FORCE IN PLACE THERE WAS ALSO A RESPONSIBILITY TO SEE THAT IT WAS ADEQUATELY SUPPLIED AND THIS MATTER WILL HAVE TO BE WORKED OUT. AS FAR AS THE US IS CONCERNED, OUR LAWS WOULD NOT PERMIT AID TO THE FORCE AS SUCH BUT REQUIRED THAT IT GO TO INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES. THE FRG AND UK REPS ALSO EXPRESSED RESERVE ABOUT CONTRIBUTING TO SUPPORT OF THE FORCE. THE UK REP SAID THAT THE UK MIGHT BEST CONTRIBUTE POLITICALLY BY GETTING OTHER AFRICAN STATES TO SUPPORT OR TOLERATE THE FORCE IF NOT ACTUALLY CONTRIBUTE TO IT. IN THE EVENT, NO DECISION WAS REACHED AND THE IDEA OF AN EXPERTS MEETING WAS NOT PURSUED. THE FRENCH CONCLUDED THIS PART OF THE MEETING BY SAYING THAT THERE WOULD BE NO "IMMEDIATE DRAMA" AS THE FORCES WOULD ARRIVE WITH EQUIPMENT AND SUPPLIES TO LAST FOR A WHILE BUT THAT THE PROBLEM WOULD HAVE TO BE ADDRESSED QUICKLY. THEY UNDERTOOK TO PROVIDE MORE DETAILED INFORMATION.

10. ZAIRE'S POLITICAL AND DIPLOMATIC SITUATION WAS TAKEN UP SUBSEQUENTLY. QUAI AFRICAN DIRECTOR GEORGY WAS ASKED BY SOUTOU TO DESCRIBE ZAIRE'S DIPLOMATIC PROBLEMS IN AFRICA. GEORGY REFERRED TO THE OAU SUMMIT AT KHARTOUM JULY 6-7 AND SAID ZAIRE IS SURE TO BE DEBATED. IN VIEW OF THE CURRENT RATHER GENERAL CONCERN ABOUT SECURITY ON THE CONTINENT ZAIRE COULD RECEIVE A MORE SYMPATHETIC HEARING THAN IT DID LAST YEAR--IF IT LAYS THE GROUNDWORK. MOBUTU SHOULD, WITH OUR ENCOURAGEMENT, UNDERTAKE A "CAMPAIGN OF DIALOGUE" TO IMPROVE

RELATIONS WITH ZAMBIA, TANZANIA, NIGERIA, AND PARTICULARLY ANGOLA. THERE HAVE BEEN CONTACTS TOWARDS IMPROVING ANGOLA/ZAIRE RELATIONS, GEORGY SAID, BUT THEY LED TO NOTHING BECAUSE OF DEEP DISTRUST

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BETWEEN THE TWO LEADERS. THE ANGOLANS DON'T FORGET
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ZAIRE'S SUPPORT FOR THE CABINDA REBELS AND ZAIRE CONTACTS WITH SAVIMBI ALSO INCREASE DISTRUST. "MOBUTU CANNOT AID UNITA AND EXPECT A SOLUTION TO THE KATANGA PROBLEM." ANGOLA FOR ITS PART MUST CEASE AID TO THE KATANGESE. THERE WAS GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT ZAIRE SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED TO IMPROVE ITS DIPLOMATIC POSITION IN AFRICA. ON THE INTERNAL POLITICAL SITUATION THERE WAS AGREEMENT ON THE NEED FOR MAJOR AND URGENT REFORMS. A POLITICAL WORKING GROUP WAS ESTABLISHED (US REP DAS WALKER) TO DRAW UP A LIST OF REFORMS WHICH (AFTER APPROVAL BY GOVERNMENTS) SHOULD BE JOINTLY URGED UPON MOBUTU IN CONNECTION WITH OFFERS OF ASSISTANCE. (DETAILS OF WORKING GROUP BY SEPTEL.)

11. AT THE EVENING SESSION QUAI DIRECTOR FOR ECONOMIC AFFAIRS, FROMENT-MEURICE, UNEXPECTEDLY AND SOMEWHAT INCONGRUOUSLY RAISED THE SPECIAL FUND FOR AFRICA (GISCARD FUND) SAYING THAT IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS AND FOLLOWING DISCUSSIONS HELD WITH VARIOUS GOVERNMENTS, INCLUDING AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL, THE GOF HAD COME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT A SPECIAL FUND WITH A DISCREET IDENTITY SUCH AS ORIGINALLY PROPOSED BY GISCARD, WAS DESIRABLE. HE THEREFORE PROPOSED A MEETING OF EXPERTS TO BE HELD IN PARIS JUNE 22-23 TO DISCUSS HOW SUCH A FUND COULD BE ESTABLISHED AND THE CRITERIA FOR ITS OPERATION. THIS PROPOSAL CAUGHT MOST OF THE DELEGATIONS BY SURPRISE AND NONE SHOWED ENTHUSIASM. THE FRG REP SAID THAT HIS GOVERNMENT HAD ALREADY AGREED TO ATTEND. OTHERS DID NOT COMMENT BUT IT WAS AGREED THAT INVITATIONS WOULD BE SENT OUT THROUGH FRENCH EMBASSIES IN CAPITALS FOR FORMAL RESPONSE.

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12. A RESTRICTED SESSION WAS HELD TO WORK OUT AN AGREED PRESS STATEMENT. THE FRENCH PLUGGED HARD AND PERSISTENTLY FOR LANGUAGE WHICH WOULD HAVE INDICATED THAT THE MEETING CONCERNED ITSELF WITH BROADER AFRICAN PROBLEMS AND THE WAYS OF RESPONDING TO THREATS TO THE SECURITY OF AFRICAN STATES. THIS LANGUAGE WAS RESISTED BY ALL THE OTHER DELEGATIONS AND, AFTER MORE THAN AN HOUR, A DECLARATION WAS AGREED UPON WHICH MADE ONLY GENERAL MENTION OF BROADER AFRICAN PROBLEMS (TEXT SEPTEL).

13. THE MEETING CONCLUDED EARLY MORNING JUNE 6.

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